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No. 1377

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PAKISTANI ROLE IN U.S. MILITARY PLANS FOR MIDEAST VIEWED

PM201137 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 3, 14 Jan 83 pp 24-25

[S. Irodov article: "The Pentagon's Carrot"]

[Text] A shiny new ~~American~~ F-16 fighter-bomber bearing the identification marks of the Pakistani Air Force soars rapidly upward. As yet, only in the advertising columns of the local newspapers summoning young Pakistanis to the Air Force Academy at Risalpur, where future pilots are trained. But the hour is not far off when these ultramodern combat machines will appear in Pakistan's skies. In mid-January, the PAKISTAN TIMES reports, the first 6 of the 40 such planes which it is planned to supply will be delivered to the country. As Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haq insisted during his first official visit to the United States in December last year, they are equipped with sophisticated electronic equipment.

And deliveries of other combat hardware--tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, missile installations, artillery and antiaircraft guns, electronic equipment--within the framework of the agreement signed in 1981 on American military and economic aid to Islamabad to the tune of \$3.2 billion over 6 years are not very far ahead.

U.S.-Pakistani relations have only infrequently been marked by stability, although after the collapse of the SEATO and CENTO blocs Pakistan remained the only country in the region with alliance ties with the United States in the form of the agreement concluded back in 1959 on cooperation, including military cooperation, which made these ties special. Despite the fact that back in the early fifties representatives of the Washington administration were stressing the importance of "Pakistan's strategic position for the world struggle against communism," Washington alternated the stick and carrot in its relations with that country. First deliveries of weapons and the granting of financial loans to Islamabad were stepped up, then an embargo was imposed on various aspects of aid to it. Under President Carter alone the United States twice--in 1978 and 1979--stopped economic aid to Pakistan, declaring its displeasure above all with the leadership's nuclear ambitions and certain actions of the Pakistani military regime in the domestic sphere.

The changes in Iran, as a result of which, as the WASHINGTON POST wrote, "Pakistan was the last of the countries on the Soviet Union's Asian border to

be oriented toward the West," caused the American administration to review its position. They rejected the "stick." But Carter did not manage to bring the rather rusty system of "special relations" between the United States and Pakistan into the form required by Washington. President R. Reagan's Administration set about doing so zealously. The sides managed with no particular difficulty to overcome a number of problems which had previously delayed military-political cooperation between them. In essence the White House departed from the principle of linking aid to Pakistan to the latter's renunciation of the implementation of its nuclear program. In turn, Islamabad stopped its importunate demands for guarantees that the United States would give Pakistan assistance in the event of any armed conflict.

By all appearances, it was agreed by mutual consent to develop military-political cooperation in the light of Pakistan's present status as a non-aligned state, outside the framework of "official structures." That is, not to conclude any formal treaties, but to move toward Pakistan's gradual involvement in the implementation of American plans in Southwest Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. press is increasingly actively discussing the possibilities of using Pakistani air and naval bases during the movement of the rapid deployment force to the proposed regions of combat operations. They are talking about Washington's desire to secure the opportunity for its aircraft carriers to call at the port of Karachi, and also to use an airbase in Baluchistan for transit stops for its air force planes. Will the Pentagon receive the right to create its own military bases on Pakistani territory? In public statements in the United States Ziaul Haq denied that Pakistan agrees to make its territory available for the deployment or transit of the American rapid deployment force. Though in a television interview he did slip up and say: "That does not come into our policy plans at the present moment." In any event, observers drew attention to the fact that in the course of the Pakistani-Indian talks on the normalization of relations between those two countries Islamabad stubbornly rejects the Indian proposal to ban the creation of foreign military bases on the two states' territories.

Just at the time when Ziaul Haq was in the United States, an announcement was made on the creation of the new American central command, to cover an extensive region of the Middle East, East Africa and the Indian Ocean. Pakistan is included as the Eastern flank. No protests were heard from Islamabad....

Reports have appeared in the Indian press on the shipment to Pakistan--on the basis of a secret American-Pakistani agreement reached during Ziaul Haq's December visit to Washington--of a group of American military experts to create three top-secret electronic stations there to act as backup for the Pentagon's military operations in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf region and to collect espionage information on countries in the region. The TIMES OF INDIA newspaper describes this deal as effectively amounting to Islamabad's making military bases available to the United States for electronic surveillance, like the bases which existed in the shah's Iran.

Thanks to the new weapons deliveries, the Indian AGENCY PRESS TRUST OF INDIA has calculated, Islamabad will be able to create an additional 2 corps formations, 6 infantry divisions, 34 artillery regiments, 17 tank regiments and 19 antiaircraft artillery regiments. In order to receive F-16 aircraft, 14 military airfields are being extended and modernized. The Ziaul Haq regime does not begrudge military expenditure: The country's state budget for the fiscal year 1982-1983 assigns just under half the expenditure section to it. "A Pakistan which is strong and sure of itself," R. Spiers, U.S. ambassador to Islamabad, stated, "accords with the interests of the United States and the Free World". The White House believes that it will be easier for a militarized Pakistan to strengthen its military cooperation with the Muslim countries of the Near East and the Persian Gulf, and in particular to send military units there. Pakistani servicemen, as Ziaul Haq reaffirmed when he addressed the Washington National Press Club, are already in a whole series of Near Eastern countries. The biggest contingent is in Saudi Arabia. Washington pins its hopes on this for using Pakistan to maintain "stability and order" in the oil-rich region--in other words, to carry out gendarme functions.

A "strong" Pakistan must help safeguard American interests in the Near East and the Persian Gulf zone in another respect too. The White House is seriously worried that the U.S. inability to defend its loyal ally--the Iranian monarch--considerably undermined faith in U.S. potential even in the countries friendliest to the United States. American-Pakistani cooperation is presented in propaganda terms as an example of sincere U.S. concern for its ally's security, while in practical terms Washington zealously utilizes Pakistan's close ties with the Islamic world and its claims to leadership in that world to unite Muslim states on an anti-Soviet basis.

As one argument in favor of giving military aid to Islamabad representatives of the American administration advance the thesis that a militarily strong Pakistan will have no need to create nuclear weapons. Yet somehow it does not seem that the American deliveries will put an end to the nuclear program. Despite the fact that after a series of revelations in the world press the veil of secrecy over the work in progress in Pakistan on the creation of an "Islamic atom bomb" grew considerably thicker, some information has again filtered through to the press. In particular, this concerns Islamabad's attempts to buy special cables in Western Europe which are designed exclusively for controlling underground nuclear tests.

However, all these facts cause Washington little concern. It is evidently worried about problems of quite another nature. Above all it is interested in further stepping up the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan, which is waged first and foremost from Pakistani territory. Evidently the White House is very displeased even with the small progress which has been observed in the settlement of the Afghanistan situation, in particular in connection with the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva through the mediation of the UN secretary general's personal representative. The United States would evidently like to hinder such dialogue. High-ranking figures in the American administration visiting Pakistan invariably visit the "Afghan refugee" camps, where they make inflammatory appeals for increased interference in the DRA's internal affairs.

Of course, nobody can dispute Pakistan's right to choose its friends and allies at its own discretion. But it is hardly in the Pakistani people's interests to transform their territory into a source of exacerbation of the situation in the region, determine their steps according to patterns prepared across the ocean and ultimately act to suit the forces which regard it as advantageous for tension to persist in Pakistan's relations with its closest neighbors.

Ziaul Haq called his December meeting with Reagan a "meeting with destiny." But will the Pakistani people agree to the dangerous destiny which Washington is basically preparing for them by drawing Pakistan increasingly into the snares of its own aggressive, bellicose designs?

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